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“COMPANIONSHIP IN ARMS.”

*“I am stirred to the depths of my nature
by this American companionship in arms
with the British and their Allies.”*

Mr. PAGE, United States Ambassador.

SPEECHES DELIVERED IN LONDON ON
APRIL 12, 1917, BY THE PRIME MINISTER
OF GREAT BRITAIN, THE UNITED STATES
AMBASSADOR, VISCOUNT BRYCE, & LORD
ROBERT CECIL, AND IN THE HOUSE OF
COMMONS ON APRIL 18 BY MR. BONAR
LAW, MR. ASQUITH, MR. DILLON, &
MR. WARDLE, TO CELEBRATE AMERICA'S
ADHESION TO THE ALLIES' CAUSE.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

LONDON:
HODDER & STOUGHTON.

1917.

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"COMPANIONSHIP IN ARMS."

AT THE AMERICAN CLUB.

I.

MR. PAGE (UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR).

I AM glad to be back with you again, and I thank you for your hearty welcome. Kind as you are—and you are very kind—I am not vain enough to take this generous applause for myself. It is for our country. This is your way of saying that these are great days for the Republic. And they are great days. We have set out to help in the enterprise of saving the earth as a place worth living in. There is no need to restate the meaning of this enterprise to you. Every man here knows it. Every man has thought it out for himself.

What is new about it to us is that it is now become our immediate American enterprise. (Cheers.) The clear and solemn call of the President and the voice of Congress, which is the voice of the people, are to us the high call of duty. (Cheers.) And you have already answered. If there be an American in this room who has not volunteered to give any service that he can, without thought of consequences and without thought of pay, I do not happen to see him. (Cheers and laughter.) At such prompt action I am not surprised, for I know you. Nor would any man be surprised, even if he did not know you, provided he knew only that you are Americans. (Cheers.) We are as our countrymen at home are. (Hear, hear.) From all the old States—from the States of the great valley, from the South, and from the Pacific—they will come, as many millions strong as need be. (Cheers.) You are parts also of our great industrial organisations and financial institutions. They, too, are already at the service of our Government. I think we shall have to do no commandeering. (Hear, hear.) And of this I am sure—if Americans in London have anything our Government can use it has not even to ask for it. (Cheers.) The free offer of it has already been made; for I have myself had the pleasure to make it on your behalf and at your prompt and patriotic insistence. Another thing that is new in our experience is

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European war 1914 - date - allies.

11-17-17 g. Hon. J. M. Reed.

that for the first time we shall come to a war in the Old World—except, indeed, when once before we came hither to suppress the Barbary pirates. (Laughter.) It is singular that our present errand is so similar to that. (Cheers.)

THE SUCCOUR OF DEMOCRACY.

Of our coming oversea to fight many consequences will flow. First and foremost, we all trust, an earlier victory. (Hear, hear.) Then a better understanding of us by the free nations of Europe, and of the free nations of Europe by us. And this, as I see it, is the largest constructive political need of the world. And we come in answer only to this high call of duty—not for any material reward, not for territory, nor for indemnity, nor for conquest, not for anything save only the high duty to succour democracy when it is desperately assailed. We come only for the ideal, that is the Republic. (Cheers.) What is the United States? A vast territory of great resources? Yes. A hundred millions of prosperous people? Yes. But the United States is more than this. The Republic is a system of society, a scheme of life, a plan of freedom, a state of mind, an ideal that every human being shall have the utmost possible opportunity for his individual development, and that nothing shall be put in the way of that development. (Cheers.) This ideal is the Republic. It is for this, and upon this, that our fathers established it. This we have not forgotten, nor shall we ever forget it. It is to make sure that this ideal shall not now perish from the earth that brings us into this war. (Hear, hear.) High as the cost and great as the toll of us may be, we shall be the better for standing where we have always stood—whatever the cost. (Cheers.)

And it is a great day also for our club. Many interesting meetings and many notable guests as we have entertained, we have not before had so large a gathering nor so inspiring an occasion, nor such distinguished visitors. Nor have we ever before had the Prime Minister as our guest of honour. We are honoured also by the presence of the Ambassador of Italy—(cheers)—and the Chargés d'Affaires of Russia and of France, many distinguished members of his Majesty's Government, of the Navy, and of the Army, and I wish to extend an especial welcome to the representative of one country of our sunlit hemisphere, Sir Robert Borden. (Cheers.) We are also honoured to entertain Admiral Sims, a member of our fighting forces, who has come here on a war errand—(cheers)—likewise the Bishop of the Philippine Islands. (Renewed cheers.)

I fear that I have told Mr. Lloyd George in my official position many American legends. But there is one I have not dared tell

him privately. It requires the intimate confidence of a public gathering. It is a legend that we believe, and therefore it is bound to be true. It is that all really great Englishmen go to the United States when they die. (Laughter.) All the great makers of English literature—they become ours, too; all the great mariners and discoverers and sailors of the race—they are ours, too; all the great friends of human freedom—they, too, belong to us. (Cheers.) Now, the energetic spirit of Mr. Lloyd George has outrun the processes of nature, and it has gone to us before he has died. For the purposes of our gathering this room is American—we are on our own soil. We are here, sir, to welcome you to it. (Loud cheers.)

II.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

I was invited to attend a small family luncheon—(laughter)—but when I entered this room I found there was another American legend which was displayed when I saw this great and impressive gathering. But I am in the position—the happy position—of being, I think, the first British Minister of the Crown who, speaking on behalf of the people of this country, can salute the American nation as comrades-in-arms. (Loud cheers.) I am glad; I am proud. I am glad not merely because of the stupendous resources which this great nation will bring to the succour of the Alliance, but I rejoice as a democrat that the advent of the United States into this war gives the final stamp and seal to the character of the conflict as a struggle against military autocracy throughout the world.

That was the note that ran through the great deliverance of President Wilson. It was echoed, sir, in your resounding words to-day. The United States of America have the noble tradition, never broken, of having never engaged in war except for liberty. (Cheers.) And this is the greatest struggle for liberty that they have ever embarked upon. I am not at all surprised, when one recalls the wars of the past, that America took its time to make up its mind about the character of this struggle. In Europe most of the great wars of the past were waged for dynastic aggrandisement and conquest. No wonder when this great war started that there were some elements of suspicion still lurking in the minds of the people of the United States of America. There were those who thought perhaps that kings were at their old tricks—(laughter)—and although they saw the gallant Republic of France fighting, they some of them perhaps regarded it as the poor victim of a conspiracy of monarchical swashbucklers. The

fact that the United States of America has made up its mind finally makes it abundantly clear to the world that this is no struggle of that character, but a great fight for human liberty. They naturally did not know at first what we had endured in Europe for years from this military caste in Prussia. It never has reached the United States of America. Prussia is not a democracy. (Laughter.) The Kaiser promises that it will be a democracy after the war. (Laughter.) I think he is right. (Loud cheers.) But Prussia not merely was not a democracy; Prussia was not a State; Prussia was an army. It had great industries that had been highly developed; a great educational system; it had its universities, it had developed its science.

THE PRUSSIAN MENACE.

All these were subordinate to the one great predominant purpose, the purpose of all—a conquering army which was to intimidate the world. The army was the spear-point of Prussia; the rest was merely the haft. That was what we had to deal with in these old countries. It got on the nerves of Europe. They knew what it all meant. It was an army that in recent times had waged three wars, all of conquest, and the unceasing tramp of its legions through the streets of Prussia, on the parade-grounds of Prussia, had got into the Prussian head. The Kaiser, when he witnessed on a grand scale his reviews, got drunk with the sound of it. (Cheers.) He delivered the law to the world as if Potsdam was another Sinai, and he was uttering the law from the thunder-clouds. But make no mistake. Europe was uneasy. Europe was half intimidated. Europe was anxious. Europe was apprehensive. We knew the whole time what it meant. What we did not know was the moment it would come. This is the menace, this is the apprehension from which Europe has suffered for over fifty years. It paralysed the beneficent activity of all States, which ought to be devoted on concentrating on the well-being of their peoples. They had to think about this menace, which was there constantly as a cloud ready to burst over the land. No one can tell except Frenchmen what they endured from this tyranny, patiently, gallantly, with dignity, till the hour of deliverance came.

The best energies of domestic science had been devoted to defending itself against the impending blow. France was like a nation which put up its right arm to ward off a blow, and could not give the whole of her strength to the great things which she was capable of. That great, bold, imaginative, fertile mind, which would otherwise have been clearing new paths for progress, was paralysed.

That is the state of things we had to encounter. The most characteristic of Prussian institutions is the Hindenburg line. (Laughter.) What is the Hindenburg line? The Hindenburg line is a line drawn in the territories of other people, with a warning that the inhabitants of those territories shall not cross it at the peril of their lives. (Cheers and laughter.) That line has been drawn in Europe for fifty years. You recollect what happened some years ago in France, when the French Foreign Minister was practically driven out of office by Prussian interference. Why? What had he done? He had done nothing which a Minister of an independent State had not the most absolute right to do. He had crossed the imaginary line drawn in French territory by Prussian despotism, and he had to leave. Europe, after enduring this for generations, made up its mind at last that the Hindenburg line must be drawn along the legitimate frontiers of Germany herself. (Cheers.) There could be no other attitude than that for the emancipation of Europe and the world. It was hard at first for the people of America quite to appreciate that. Germany had not interfered to the same extent with their freedom, if at all. But at last they endured the same experience as Europe had been subjected to. Americans were told that they were not to be allowed to cross and recross the Atlantic except at their peril. American ships were sunk without warning. American subjects were drowned, hardly with an apology—in fact, as a matter of German right. At first America could hardly believe it. They could not think it possible that any sane people should behave in that manner. And they tolerated it once, and they tolerated it twice, until it became clear that the Germans really meant it. Then America acted, and acted promptly. (Cheers.) The Hindenburg line was drawn along the shores of America, and the Americans were told they must not cross it. America said, "What is this?" Germany said, "This is our line, beyond which you must not go," and America said, "The place for that line is not the Atlantic, but on the Rhine—(cheers)—and we mean to help you to roll it up."

TWO GREAT FACTS.

There are two great facts which clinch the argument that this is a great struggle for freedom. The first is the fact that America has come in. She would not have come in otherwise. What is the second? The second is the Russian revolution. (Loud cheers.) When France, in the eighteenth century, sent her soldiers to America to fight for the freedom and independence of that land, France also was an autocracy in those days. But Frenchmen in America, once they were there—their aim was

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freedom, their atmosphere was freedom, their inspiration was freedom. They acquired a taste for freedom, and they took it home, and France became free. That is the story of Russia. Russia engaged in this great war for the freedom of Serbia, of Montenegro, of Bulgaria, and has fought for the freedom of Europe. They wanted to make their own country free, and they have done it. (Cheers.) The Russian revolution is not merely the outcome of the struggle for freedom. It is a proof of the character of the struggle for liberty, and if the Russian people realise, as there is every evidence they are doing, that national discipline is not incompatible with national freedom—nay, that national discipline is essential to the security of national freedom—they will, indeed, become a free people.

I have been asking myself the question, Why did Germany deliberately, in the third year of the war, provoke America to this declaration and to this action—deliberately, resolutely? It has been suggested that the reason was that there were certain elements in American life, and they were under the impression that they would make it impossible for the United States to declare war. That I can hardly believe. But the answer has been afforded by Marshal von Hindenburg himself, in the very remarkable interview which appeared in the Press, I think, only this morning. He depended clearly on one of two things. First, that the submarine campaign would have destroyed international shipping to such an extent that England would have been put out of business before America was ready. According to his computation, America cannot be ready for twelve months. He does not know America. (Loud cheers.) In the alternative, that when America is ready, at the end of twelve months, with her army, she will have no ships to transport that army to the field of battle. In von Hindenburg's words, "America carries no weight." I suppose he meant she has no ships to carry weight. On that, undoubtedly, they are reckoning. Well, it is not wise always to assume that even when the German General Staff, which has miscalculated so often, makes a calculation it has no ground for it. It therefore behoves the whole of the Allies, Great Britain and America in particular, to see that that reckoning of von Hindenburg is as false as the one he made about his famous line, which we have broken already. (Cheers.)

THE ROAD TO VICTORY.

The road to victory, the guarantee of victory, the absolute assurance of victory is to be found in one word—ships—(cheers)—and a second word—ships; and a third word—ships. (Renewed cheers.) And with that quickness of apprehension which

characterises your nation, Mr. Chairman, I see that they fully realise that, and to-day I observe that they have already made arrangements to build one thousand 3000-tonners for the Atlantic. (Cheers.) I think that the German military advisers must already begin to realise that this is another of the tragic miscalculations which is going to lead them to disaster and to ruin. But you will pardon me for emphasising that. We are a slow people in these islands. We are. Slow and blundering—but we get there. (Cheers.) You get there sooner, and that is why I am glad to see you in. (Laughter and cheers.) But may I say that we have been in this business for three years. We have made—as we generally do—we have tried every blunder. In golfing phraseology we have got into every bunker. But we have got a good niblick. (Loud cheers and laughter.) We are right out on the course. But may I respectfully suggest that it is worth America's while to study our blunders, so as to begin just where we are now, and not where we were three years ago. (Cheers.) That is an advantage. In war, time has as tragic a significance as it has in sickness. A step which, taken to-day, may lead to assured victory, taken to-morrow may barely avert disaster. All the Allies have discovered that. It was a new country for us all. It was trackless, mapless. We had to go by instinct. But we found the way, and I am so glad that you are sending your great naval and military experts here, just to exchange experiences with men who have been through all the dreary, anxious crises of the last three years.

America has helped us even to win the battle of Arras. (Cheers.) Do you know that these guns which destroyed the German trenches, shattered the barbed wire—I remember, with some friends of mine whom I see here, arranging to order the machines to make those guns from America. (Cheers.) Not all of them—(laughter)—you got your share, but only a share, a glorious share. So that America has also had her training. She has been making guns, making ammunition, giving us machinery to prepare both; she has supplied us with steel, and she has got all that organisation, and she has got that wonderful facility, adaptability, and resourcefulness of the great people which inhabits that great continent. Ah! It was a bad day for military autocracy in Prussia when it challenged the great Republic of the West. (Loud cheers.) We know what America can do, and we also know that now she is in it she will do it. (Cheers.) She will wage an effective and successful war.

There is something more important. She will ensure a beneficent peace. (Cheers.) I attach great importance—and I am the last man in the world, knowing for three years what our difficulties have been, what our anxieties have been, and what our fears have

been—I am the last man to say that the succour which is given to us from America is not something in itself to rejoice in, and to rejoice in greatly. But I don't mind saying that I rejoice even more in the knowledge that America is going to win the right to be at the conference table when the terms of peace are being discussed. (Cheers.) That conference will settle the destiny of nations—the course of human life—for God knows how many ages. It would have been tragic for mankind if America had not been there, and there with all the influence, all the power and the right which she has now won by flinging herself into this great struggle.

A REAL PEACE.

I can see peace coming now—not a peace which will be the beginning of war; not a peace which will be an endless preparation for strife and bloodshed; but a real peace. The world is an old world. It has never had peace. It has been rocking and swaying like an ocean, and Europe—poor Europe!—has always lived under the menace of the sword. When this war began two-thirds of Europe were under autocratic rule. It is the other way about now, and democracy means peace. (Hear, hear.) The democracy of France did not want war; the democracy of Italy hesitated long before they entered the war; the democracy of this country shrank from it—shrank and shuddered. The democracies sought peace; strove for peace. If Prussia had been a democracy there would have been no war. Strange things have happened in this war. There are stranger things to come, and they are coming rapidly.

There are times in history when this world spins so leisurely along its destined course that it seems for centuries to be at a standstill; but there are also times when it rushes along at a giddy pace, covering the track of centuries in a year. These are the times we are living in now. Six weeks ago Russia was an autocracy; she is now one of the most advanced democracies in the world. (Cheers.) To-day we are waging the most devastating war that the world has ever seen; to-morrow—perhaps not a distant to-morrow—war may be abolished for ever from the category of human crimes. (Hear, hear.) This may be something like the fierce outburst of winter which we are now witnessing before the complete triumph of the sun. It is written of those gallant men who won that victory on Monday—men from Canada, from Australia, and from this old country, which has proved that in spite of its age that it is not decrepit—(cheers)—it is written of those gallant men, that they attacked with the dawn—fit work for the dawn!—to drive out of forty miles of

French soil those miscreants who had defiled it for three years. "They attacked with the dawn." Significant phrase!

The breaking up of the dark rule of the Turk, which for centuries has clouded the sunniest land in the world, the freeing of Russia from an oppression which has covered it like a shroud for so long, the great declaration of President Wilson coming with the might of the great nation which he represents into the struggle for liberty are heralds of the dawn. "They attacked with the dawn," and these men are marching forward in the full radiance of that dawn, and soon Frenchmen and American, British, Italian, Russian, yea, and Serbians, Belgians, Montenegrins, will march into the full light of a perfect day. (Cheers.)

[On the Prime Minister resuming his seat the whole audience rose and cheered enthusiastically. Mr. Page remarked that any thanks he could give had been better expressed by that spontaneous action. He added that the Prime Minister had made that day a memorable day for them. The singing of the American and British National Anthems followed.]

AT THE PILGRIMS' CLUB.

III.

VISCOUNT BRYCE.

There were some occasions too great for words. The occasion which brought them together that night opened a new chapter in the history of the world. There never had been anything like it; there never could be anything like it again. The motives which actuated the United States in this momentous step had been set forth by President Wilson in language lofty and inspiring, language which expressed the highest ideals of American statesmanship and of the aspirations of the American people, in terms worthy of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. (Cheers.) President Wilson showed singular wisdom and tact when he drew a clear distinction between the German Government and the German people. That distinction was a deserved recognition of the fact that there were hundreds of thousands of men of German origin in the United States who were honest, kindly, genial, and humane, men who disapproved of the action of their Government every bit as much as we did here. It was wise also in President Wilson to let it be known to the German people in Germany that it was not hatred against them, but indignation against their Government that aroused the sentiments of mankind against them. (Cheers.) The German Government had done its best to bring back barbarism to the world. All that the wisest thinkers in the past three or four centuries had tried to accomplish the German Government had tried to undo. It had said, in the words of our poet, "Evil, be thou my good." It had made itself the enemy of law and international right, of the rights of small nations, the enemy of justice to the innocent and compassion to the suffering, it had made itself the enemy of mankind. (Hear, hear.) Happily, the German Government was in some things as ignorant as it was malevolent. It had been ignorant of the spirit of Britain, it had been ignorant of the temper, spirit, and loyalty of the great Dominions. (Cheers.) Little did it think that at the first note of war, before even arms had begun to clash, all the Dominions would come to help their Mother Country. (Cheers.)

But the greatest mistake of all the German Government had made was when it misunderstood the United States. It thought the American people, lapped in glorious ease, had no thoughts for things other than that of piling up wealth, and it thought

that because America loved wealth she did not care for honour. The German Government did not know that America loved honour and freedom beyond everything else. (Cheers.)

He would like to remind them what America had done before she entered into the war at all. He did not speak merely of supplies to the Allies. He spoke of works of humanity. Let them never forget how much they owed to the efforts of American Embassies—(loud cheers)—what Mr. Gerard did to soften the cruel lot of our prisoners, and what had been done for the starving populations of Belgium and Northern France. (Cheers.) All would be glad to know that the splendid services rendered by Mr. Hoover had been appreciated by his own Government by putting him into the position of food controller, not food dictator, because there were no food dictators in America. (Hear, hear.) They would be glad also to know that the organisation in America for the supply of food to Belgium was being carried on under the agency of the Dutch and the Spanish.

In this war America was doing what those who knew her best expected she would do. (Cheers.) She waited long, she gave ample rope to the Germans, and they abused it; and now, after long patience, and satisfied that the Germans are an impossible people to deal with, she stepped into the ring, bared her arm, and threw all her energies into the work of the war. In this she had shown a wonderful spirit of patriotic unity. The question arose—how was this going to shorten the war? Could it be doubted that the entrance of America could shorten the war? He saw signs of it already on the banks of the Spree, beyond the Rhine. Germany thought she would not be overcome because she could not be overcome. She also thought Hindenburg was always right, and that the defeat of Hindenburg was a victory. (Cheers.) No doubt that was the case in the battle of Arras. (Laughter.) We were willing to give them many such "victories" as that of Arras. (Cheers.) The German Government had begun to make promises of political reform. That must be because they were beginning to discover among their people signs of disaffection and distress. It had the air of a death-bed repentance. He hoped the work of freeing Germany would be done, but not by the Junkers. He hoped that when that work had been accomplished the people of Germany would take an example from the people of Russia, and set themselves free from the incubus of despotism that was crushing all that was best in German national life. (Cheers.) America in this war represented the conscience and the judgment of the world. She had come into the war because she saw it was a battle of honour against perfidy, and of freedom against despotism. (Cheers.)

IV.

LORD ROBERT CECIL.

I should like to add one word, one subject, to the many which have been touched upon by Lord Bryce, and that is the subject of the guest of this evening. (Cheers.) Mr. Page many of us are proud to reckon amongst our best and most valued friends. (Cheers.) But he is much more than a great friend; he is a great Ambassador. (Cheers.) Without being indiscreet I may now say that the task of the American Ambassador to this country has not always been a perfectly easy one. In a great war such as we are going through now controversies must arise, and have arisen, between his country and ours. This we may say with absolute conviction, that everything that could be done to smooth over those controversies, to remove misunderstandings, and to promote sympathy between the two peoples has been done by Mr. Page. (Cheers.) May I add that I think he will agree with me in recognising that he has received all assistance from the present Foreign Secretary and his predecessor in office. (Cheers.) I do not think it would be any exaggeration to say of each of those distinguished statesmen that neither of them had any more passionate political desire than the friendship of the British Empire and the United States. (Cheers.) I will add one word about the staff of the American Embassy. Many of us have had personal relations of a very friendly kind with several members of the staff, who always preserved the most correct neutrality in talking to us. But, somehow or another, after conversation with any one of them we went away feeling as one does after having received a hearty grasp of the hand from a friend and an earnest and heartfelt wish of Godspeed to our cause. (Cheers.)

Well, gentlemen, neutrality is no longer necessary, and we all say, "Thank God for that." (Cheers.) Your President has touched upon many aspects of this great event. I shall carry every man with me in the room when I say that the importance of this happening is difficult to realise and impossible to exaggerate. (Hear, hear.) It is not merely of material assistance. I agree with every word that has fallen from Lord Bryce about the enormous importance of the great resources which America will be able to place at the service of the Allies. It may be, indeed, that those resources will prove vital to our success—at any rate, vital to our sooner success. Nor is it important merely because it is a great and resounding blow against unprovoked aggression on neutral rights which has been committed by our enemy. Much more than that is the fact that now, for the first time, the United States and the British Empire are fighting side by side in the world cause. (Cheers.)

A GLORIOUS TRIUMPH.

What that struggle may have in store for us none of us knows. It may mean, probably will mean, bitter suffering endured jointly by us. We feel sure it will ultimately mean a glorious triumph jointly and by both Powers. (Cheers.) But, whatever the fellowship of suffering and triumph may have to show us in the future, I cannot doubt that the association of these two nations will be a great thing for themselves, and if I may say so an even greater thing for the world. (Cheers.) In the dark days which have come upon us during this war—and it would be affectation to deny that there have been dark days for each one of us and all of us together—one hope has buoyed us up beyond that of the eventual triumph we all believe in—we all hope that at the end of the war there will be a new birth for the nations of the world; we all hope for a peace founded upon right, for the substitution of real international law for the international anarchy which at present exists. Your President said that America was idealistic. I believe that this “nation of shopkeepers” and that nation which has been held up as worshippers of the dollar are amongst the most idealistic of States, and it is because I profoundly believe that some day we shall achieve a condition when unprovoked aggression by one nation upon another will be as rare and as despicable as unprovoked aggression by one man upon another—(hear, hear)—it is because I believe that is the real goal for which we are striving, the true end, the true achievement for which we are fighting, and because I think that these dreams, if they be dreams, can be turned into reality by the help of the people of America, that I welcome this event as I think I have welcomed no event before. (Cheers.) And if these great results are to be achieved we may truly say that a great part of the honour and credit for their achievement will be possessed by Mr. Walter Hines Page.

V.

MR. PAGE (UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR).

Patiently, solemnly, and resolutely the people and the Government of the United States, under the guidance of the President, have, for the first time in our history, come into a European war—European at least in its beginning, though now almost universal in its scope; and we have come in because we could do not other. (Cheers.) This is the momentous event that we are met to celebrate. (Cheers.) The welcome of my country into this conflict, which you are kind enough to express by your presence, is itself most welcome to us, for we have set

out with you now in a righteous struggle in defence of good faith between nations and of the immutable principles of free government. (Cheers.) We are come to save our own honour and to uphold our ideals—come on provocation done directly to us. (Hear, hear.) But we are come also for the preservation, the deepening, and the extension of free government. And this every American, reared on the doctrines and the deeds of our political and military fathers, instinctively feels.

Our creed is the simple and immortal creed of democracy, which means government set up by the governed; for this alone can prevent physical or intellectual or moral enslavement. This is the ideal towards which the whole world is now moving along bloody paths, but moving by the impulsion of a great ethical force towards the ideals of democracy. (Loud cheers.) None of these old lands, not even this freest of all, will ever again slip back to its *ante bellum* self-contentment. It is a colossal upheaval which will turn the world into a better home for free men—so colossal that it staggers prophecy; but this much at least is true. So soon as its barbarisms and personal sorrows recede somewhat in memory, and we can look over the shattered world and plan for its rebuilding, we shall reconstruct human society better than it ever was, and on a firmer basis. Every thoughtful man carries this conviction dimly or clearly in his mind. Else the end would be now, for hope would die out of us. (Cheers.)

As for the particular aspects of this great subject, with which this club from its beginning has had to do—the closer sympathy of our two branches of the English-speaking world—next to the removal of the great menace to free government which is the prime purpose of the war this closer sympathy will be to us the most important result of the victory. It will be important not only to us on each side of the Atlantic but also to all other free nations. There can be no assured and permanent stability without it. The ranged arches of any world-structure will fall without our united support. (Loud cheers.) I wish most earnestly to declare in this presence that, in my judgment, the differences that have arisen in the immediate past between our two Governments and peoples have suffered enormous exaggeration. In saying this I pay a tribute to the pervasive malevolence of German world-wide propaganda that has been carried on for many years.

There is no conceivable device that has not been used on your side and particularly on our side to make a breach between us and to magnify every petty disagreement into a quarrel. Yet in spite of this, and in spite of every effort and influence of a like kind, British-American relations have remained fundamentally

friendly and sound. The foundations of our instinctive and necessary friendship have never been shaken. (Loud cheers.) They are set too firmly even for the shocks of this war to have moved them—too firmly in blood, and in institutions and in aspirations, in literature and language, and in manifest destiny. At bottom there is unity in all the great aims of life—in the value set upon individual liberty, in the great scheme of free government, in the type of character that the English-speaking world has evolved, in the standards of fair conduct and of honour, in domestic relations, in hospitality, in genuineness, and in truth-telling. (Cheers.)

IDENTITY OF IDEALS.

The same human coin rings true to each of us, and the same rings false. There are no other two different and independent great nations in the world, and there never were two others that had so much in common. American participation in the war proves this fundamental unity in the large aims of national life. Why else have we been drawn into this grim, old-world, bloody struggle—drawn in against our traditions and surely against our wishes, and against the most patient efforts to keep out of it—this struggle with the causes of which we had nothing to do? We have no old wrongs to avenge, no conquests that we wish to make, no hatred of any people, we covet no territory, we seek no indemnities. Why do we come, except that our standard of honour and our judgment of safety are the same as yours? We set the same value that you set on freedom and on good faith. (Cheers.)

Our unity of aim and the identity of our larger ideals are the more significant because of the separate and independent character of each Government and of each people. We are not the same—far from it. We have many differences. It has been a surprise to me since my residence among you to discover unexpected divergences in our thought and life. There are subjects on which we do not see eye to eye. There are conflicting differences, habits, points of view. Tolerance will always have a wide space to cover. Our larger land, our newer admixture of blood, our difference of social structure, our smaller burden of traditional impedimenta—these imply and compel not only variety, but divergent views and habits. We are not one people. (Cheers.) I have seen many a man who had accepted the rhetorical assurance of complete unity suffer a shock on closer acquaintance. I beg to remind you of one good law of frank and sensible national intercourse, namely, earnest and honest men must be sentimental, for sentiment is one of the great qualities of

right feeling, but it becomes tiresome and misleading to talk too sentimentally. Some of our differences, which we must in frankness recognise, are historical and fundamental. But most of them are superficial. Some of them have been manufactured by agitation. But none of them need or can separate us in the further development of national freedom, based on individual freedom. (Cheers.)

Our two Governments, you will agree with me, are the ripest products of human experience and of collective human intelligence ever set up in the world. But all Governments have certain limitations and awkwardnesses and infelicities of conduct, because free Governments must serve their contentious citizens as well as their contented ones. Thus it comes about that our differences are made the most of in each country in political circles; for you will discover that in most other circles in each country our likenesses and not our differences are chiefly thought of. (Cheers.) Diversity, variation, and variety, individuality and mutual rivalry and mutual vanity will continue to have free play, and ought to have. But with mutual respect now more than ever firmly established, when the great German menace to freedom is removed I have no apprehensions concerning our relations for any time that need now concern us. And our partnership in the war will make this surer and clearer.

AN INDISSOLUBLE COMPANIONSHIP.

Our association in the war will do more to make us forget each other's idiosyncrasies and to remember each other's virtues than all other events of the last hundred years. (Cheers.) We shall get out of this association an indissoluble companionship, and we shall henceforth have indissoluble mutual duties to mankind. I doubt if there could be another international event comparable in large value and in long consequences to this closer association. I regard it as the supreme political event of all history. There is good hope that it will make certain the co-operation of most of the organised human race to prevent intermittent devastations of the world. Such a union of purpose would be much less sure of success if either great branch of the English-speaking world were lacking, for it would lose a moral support out of proportion to the physical strength of either great nation, great as that physical strength is. (Cheers.)

For my part, therefore, I am stirred to the depths of my nature by this American companionship in arms with the British and their Allies, not only for the quicker ending of the grim business immediately in hand, but for the moral union for a new

era in international relations. When the war is done we shall be able to foresee more accurately the orbic movement of civilisation, and we shall think in larger units than we have ever been able to think in hitherto. (Cheers.)

Our country, as you know, has long held to its policy of avoiding entangling alliances in Europe. The Holy Alliance taught us that the value of contracts depends on the character and not on the pious names of both contracting parties—a lesson that we have had very recent opportunities to learn over again. Complete confidence makes alliances unnecessary and distrust makes them valueless. (Cheers.) Therefore during the period of our great tasks of internal development—tasks as great as all Europe put together has hitherto had—we wisely kept ourselves and our energies at home. We had a splendid isolation. But changes have come swiftly in our time. Real aloofness implied distance, and distance is no more. Aloofness implied slowness of communication and lack of trade. (Cheers.) Great trade has come, and communication is swifter than any dreamer could ever have dreamed it would be. All the other causes of sharp separation have disappeared.

We had before the war reached by a natural process a stage in our development where aloofness was itself fast fading into the impossible; and this great struggle which we shall now share with you and your Allies will hasten its fading. The feeling has been growing for several years, to a degree unconscious and not clearly thought out by the man on the prairie, that a determined political aloofness from Europe had ceased in itself to be a virtue. (Laughter and cheers.) We do not yet wish any entangling alliances nor dynastic commitments—why should we? We are no longer afraid of what the Prime Minister to-day called the “old tricks of kings,” and in trade and all the natural rivalries of free peoples we are quite willing to take care of ourselves. I should say that we are far less likely to contract dangerous entanglements in Europe by rendering you and your Allies what help we can than we should be by longer remaining remote. (Cheers.)

If we are not afraid of our enemy we surely are not afraid of our friends. As, therefore, under our great first President we adopted a policy of isolation, which was wise and safe for that time and a hundred years afterwards, we seem likely, under our latest great President, to become, not entangled in your old-world alliances, but at least to become more neighbourly, trusting to you also to mend your old-time ways of showing a condescension to foreigners. (Cheers.)

Another domestic change which the war will work in our habits will be, perhaps, somewhat to guard our gates against

too promiscuous an influx. We shall never cease to be hospitable to the oppressed or to the unfortunate, nor to those who wish to become part and parcel of our people. But hospitality that becomes too promiscuous is likely to suffer abuse. (Hear, hear.) The test of admission will be a sound body and a real desire to become American, and not a purpose to use America to aid an alien Government. (Cheers.)

FEELING IN AMERICA.

But I assure you that the melting-pot does melt its contents. You have been kind enough and ignorant enough of our population to fear that our lamp-posts might have to be put to new uses of illumination. The assimilative capacity of our mobile society has, I think, not been overtaxed or understood. Perhaps you have not made sufficient allowance for the beneficent influence of our democracy in changing and in stimulating as well as in assimilating men who live in its free atmosphere. (Cheers.) And men here have asked me with concern about the attitude of the Middle West. We have our sectional jealousies, as you have. And men who live on the prairies do not get together so quickly and in such large groups as in large cities. But the Middle West has never been lacking when a national duty called us. It fought one war after peace had been declared. It sent more than its proportion of men to our Civil War. It has more men now in your Canadian Army in France than any other part of the Union. I am told that these inland States contribute proportionately more men to our navy than the States on the seaboard.

The United States is one in this deep stirring that now moves its people. If I may inoffensively say so, I have heard more about the differences between England, Scotland, and Wales, and between English and Scottish and Welsh, these four years than I had heard in the United States about similar differences there for the preceding half-century. (Laughter.) I have not yet wholly recovered from the shock I received when I discovered that there is a journal in London whose purpose is to prove that all the great men of this island have been English and another journal whose aim is the independence of Scotland; and one of your poets recently wrote a volume of verse to prove that your ruling class is to this day—and has been since 1066—the Normans. (Laughter.) The other races that have contributed to the most remarkable mingling of blood that ever took place—they, according to your poet, are yet poor Hodge. (Cheers.)

"ALL AMERICAN."

Now there are no corresponding phenomena in the United States. We come into this struggle all American. One of our poets, in celebrating the changes that our democracy makes in men, wrote this :

" 'Twas glory once to be a Roman,
'Tis glory now to be a man."

High spiritual exaltation does not come by direct seeking ; it is an exhalation of noble effort. The most enduring companionship does not come of expressing mutual regards, but of a common struggle in some high and dangerous task. Winning a righteous war together is worth more than most other experiences, by revealing real men to real men, to bind them together in all common high aims. (Cheers.)

The American fathers indulged the hope that, following their example, all nations would soon become democracies. The Americans of every generation have had this same dream. During this century and a half there has indeed been a great extension of liberalism and freedom. But even during that long period all countries did not become democratic ; some of them have been disastrously slow about it. But the tumbling of autocracies does seem at last to be at hand ; and if the abysmal crash of them could not come except through war, that makes war more welcome. The war supplies both an occasion and a necessity for their passing from the earth with other great historic wrongs. This, too, makes it the more just in the judgment of the Republic. (Loud cheers.)

Your generous and great compliment to me by making this large gathering in my honour is your way of expressing appreciation of the action of the Government and people that I represent and of the President at whose high command I have the honour to be among you in these historic and immortal days. I thank you with deep emotion. (Prolonged cheering.)

[The singing of "Auld Lang Syne" followed.]

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

VI.

MR. BONAR LAW.

[In moving the following resolution : " That this House desires to express to the Government and people of the United States of America their profound appreciation of the action of that Government in joining the Allied Powers, and thus defending the high cause of freedom and the rights of humanity against the gravest menace by which they have ever been imperilled."]

I deeply regret, for the reason I announced yesterday [Mr. Lloyd George had gone on a mission to the Continent], that the Prime Minister is not able himself to move the resolution which stands in his name on the paper—a resolution expressing the deep appreciation of the House of Commons of the greatest event which has happened during the war, the entry of the United States of America into the struggle. (Cheers.) Not only the members of this House, but the whole people of this Empire and of all the Allied countries, welcome the adhesion of our new Ally with heartfelt sympathy, not only as the greatest event, but, as I hope and believe, the turning point in this war. (Cheers.) The New World has been brought in or has stepped in to redress the balance of the Old. The United States possesses resources of all kinds—resources which in the long run are decisive in war—to a greater extent probably than any other nation. The quality of her people was shown nearly sixty years ago—their courage, their steadfastness, their devotion to a high purpose—in a struggle which in its essence was not dissimilar to that into which they have now entered. Since then the American people have shown qualities of resourcefulness, of energy, readiness to adapt new methods to new situations, which have been conspicuously successful in the arts of peace, and these same qualities will now be directed in no half-hearted way and with equal success in the art of war. (Hear, hear.)

The United States has been wary of entrance to a quarrel, but, being in it, she already shows that her enemy must beware of her ; and, in spite of the fact that the path which we are now travelling, which lies immediately in front of us, has never been more difficult, I venture to express the hope and the belief that a change is coming, and that the long night of sorrow and anguish which has desolated the world is drawing to a close. (Cheers.) But we welcome the adhesion of our new Ally for another reason

not less strong—for the moral justification which it gives us for our own cause.

America, like the British Empire, is engaged in the war from no desire and through no fault of her own, but because “she could do no other.” I have said many times since the war began, and I profoundly believe it, that the greatest of all the issues that will be decided in this struggle is whether or not free institutions on which the progress of civilisation and the welfare of mankind depend can survive against the centralised power of a military despotism. (Cheers.) In this connection the entrance of the great Republic is a fitting pendant to the revolution which has brought the Russian people, whose courage and endurance we have so much admired, and whose sufferings have been so terrible, into the circle of the free nations of mankind.

I have read—and I am sure every member of this House has read with deep admiration and profound agreement the speech—a speech worthy of Abraham Lincoln—in which the President of the United States announced the entrance of his country into this struggle. (Cheers.) I read the other day a characteristic extract from a German newspaper, in which it was said that America was going to war for nothing. From their point of view that statement is true. America, like the British Empire, is animated by no lust of conquest, by no greed of territory, and by no selfish ends. The aims and ideals to which President Wilson has given in that speech such noble expression are our aims and ideals too, and as we found earlier so the American people have found now. There is no method by which these ends can be secured except by fighting for them. (Loud cheers.)

VII.

MR. ASQUITH.

It is natural and fitting that this House, the chief representative body of the British Empire, should at the earliest possible opportunity give definite and emphatic expression to the feelings which throughout the length and breadth of the Empire have grown day by day in volume and in fervour since the memorable decision of the President and Congress of the United States. (Cheers.) I doubt whether even now the world realises the full significance of the step which America has taken. (Hear, hear.) I do not use the language of flattery or of exaggeration when I say that it is one of the most disinterested acts in history. (Cheers.) An inveterate tradition of more than one hundred

years has made it a cardinal principle of American policy to keep clear of European entanglements. A war on such a scale as this must of necessity dislocate international commerce and finance, but on balance it was, I think, doing little appreciable harm to the material fortunes and prosperity of the American people. Nor were distinctively American interests at home or abroad, and least of all what is the greatest of all interests in a democratic community—the maintenance of domestic independence and liberty—directly imperilled by the ambitions and designs of the Central Powers.

What then is it that has enabled the President, after waiting, with the patience which Pitt once described as "the first virtue of statesmanship," for the right moment, to carry with him a united nation into the hazards and the horrors of the greatest war in history? It is not, as my right hon. friend has well said, a calculation of material gain; it is not in the hope of territorial aggrandisement, it is not even the pricking of one of those so-called points of honour which in days gone by have driven nations, as they used to drive individuals, into the duelling ground. No, it is none of these things. It is the constraining force of conscience and humanity—(cheers)—growing in strength and in compulsive authority month by month with the gradual unfolding before the eyes of the world of the real character of German aims and German methods. (Cheers.)

It is that force, and that force alone, which has brought home to the judgment of the great democracy over the seas the momentous truth that they were standing at the parting of the ways, and that they had to take one of those decisions which in the lives both of men and of communities determine for good or for evil their whole future. What was it that our kinsmen in America realised was at issue in this unexampled conflict? The very things which they and we, if we are to be worthy of what is noblest in our common history, are bound to indicate as the essential conditions of a free and honourable development of nations of the world—(cheers)—justice, humanity, respect for law, consideration for the weak and the unprotected, chivalry towards enemies, the observance of good faith—these, which we all used to regard as the commonplaces of international decency, have one after another been flouted, menaced, trodden under foot as though they were the effete superstitions of some bygone creed. (Cheers.) America has seen that there was here at issue something of wider import than the vicissitudes of battlefields or even the rearrangement of the map of Europe on the basis of nationality. The whole future of civilised government and intercourse, in particular the fortunes and the fate of democracy, are brought into peril.

In such a situation aloofness is seen to be not only a blunder, but a crime. To stand aside with stopped ears, with folded arms, with an averted gaze, when you have the power to intervene is to become not a mere spectator, but an accomplice. (Cheers.) There was never in the minds of any of us any fear that the moment the issue became apparent and unmistakable the voice of America would utter an uncertain note. She has now dedicated herself, without hesitation or reserve, heart and soul and strength, to the greatest of causes. To that cause, stimulated and fortified by her comradeship, we here renew our own fealty and devotion. (Loud cheers.)

VIII.

MR. DILLON (Ireland).

He had been requested by the Irish Nationalist Party to join most heartily in the welcome to the United States. The speech of the late Prime Minister expressed, in language which this great occasion deserved, the real sentiments of the nations forming the British Empire. The entry of America into the struggle was not like the entry of our other Allies. It had a mighty significance to the whole of the civilised world. It was a breach of the unbroken tradition, extending over more than one hundred years, since America first became a nation, during which she had adhered to the principle laid down by Washington that she should keep herself free from all entangling alliances or interference in European politics.

Those who desired to appreciate fully the significance of America's entry into the struggle should read and read again the addresses of President Wilson to the Congress and the Senate. Those speeches would go down in history as some of the noblest utterances of any statesman. They carried encouragement and hope to the hearts of every oppressed nationality and race, and he trusted that the people of this country would take some opportunity of giving cordial expression to their acceptance of the great principles laid down by the President. (Cheers.) He recognised the difficulties with which President Wilson had had to contend during the last two and a half years in keeping united a nation which included nearly 20,000,000 citizens of German blood and 15,000,000 of Irish blood, and in dealing with a nation which had a traditional, deep-seated, and ineradicable hatred of war, and was formed in a large measure of men who had fled from war and oppression in Europe. Now that the American flag was unfurled he ventured to prophesy that in the armies under it would be found Irishmen in larger numbers than men of any other race in proportion to

the population. The entry of the United States into the war had a deep significance because of its moral effect, and because, as was said by the Prime Minister a few days ago, it would give her a seat at the Peace Conference. The latter fact had a special meaning to every oppressed race in Europe, and the Irish people knew that at the Peace Conference they would have a friend. (Cheers.)

IX.

MR. WARDLE (Labour),

On behalf of the Labour Party, welcomed unreservedly the entry of the great American democracy into the war. That entry emphasised, as it had never been emphasised before, the fact that the days of isolation were ended and that there was an interdependence of nations in the interests of humanity. He hoped to see as a result of the war some league of nations charged with the duty of keeping the world's peace. The most significant fact about the entry of the United States into the struggle was that the great American nation had seen the real nature of the war. The United States had been slow in deciding to enter the war because of their domestic position, but there could be no doubt that from the beginning of hostilities their real conscience and heart and *morale* had been on the side of the Allies. (Hear, hear.) The war was raised above questions of patriotism in the ordinary sense of the word to the higher questions of liberty and the future of the world, civilisation, and democracy. (Hear, hear.) Great Britain and America were both fighting for a real period of goodwill between nations which had not hitherto been possible. If they could stamp out militarism, despotism, and autocracy the war would have attained an end that would be worth all the struggle and all the sacrifices. (Cheers.)

THE AMERICAN CLUB LUNCHEON.

Among those present were : The Marquis Imperiali, Colonel H. W. Thornton, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Bryce, Lieutenant-General Smuts, Sir Robert Borden, Rear-Admiral Sims (of the United States Navy), the Bishop of the Philippines, Sir Bertrand Dawson, Mr. A. Henderson, Mr. Walter Long, Lord Derby, Lord Rhondda, Sir Albert Stanley, Lord Moulton, Mr. Winston Churchill, Lord Cowdray, Lord Aberconway, Sir Edward Morris, Lord Airedale, Lord Incheape, Sir Owen Philipps, Sir A. A. Booth, Sir George Riddell, Mr. F. E. Powell, M. Nabokoff, Mr. J. B. MacAfee, Mr. F. E. Drake, Mr. Wilson Cross, Lord Reading, Sir Edward Holden, Lord Burnham, Mr. F. C. Van Duzer, Mr. O. H. Baldwin, the Cuban Minister, Mr. A. L. Samuel, Sir W. Robertson Nicol, Sir Reginald Brade, Mr. Geoffrey Robinson, Mr. Waldorf Astor, Sir A. Conan Doyle, Sir James Stevenson, Sir Robert Hadfield, Sir Ernest Moir, Sir Robert Balfour, Sir James Murray, Mr. David Davies, M.P., Sir John Cowans, Sir Henry Dalziel, M.P., Mr. H. G. Wells, General Collard, Mr. H. Brittain, and Sir A. Trevor Dawson.

THE PILGRIMS' CLUB DINNER.

Among those present were : Lord Derby, Sir Edward Carson, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, the Lord Chancellor, Bishop Brent, General Sir William Robertson, Sir Robert Borden, Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, Lord Reading, Lord Beresford, Rear-Admiral Sims, U.S.N., Lord Moulton, Lord Crawford, Lord Islington, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Lord Desborough, Mr. Rudyard Kipling, Mr. T. J. Macnamara, M.P., Lord Devonport, Lord Charnwood, Lord George Hamilton, Mr. Winston Churchill, Sir Alfred Mond, Sir Frederick Smith, Sir Robert Hudson, Dr. Addison, M.P., Lord Athlumney, General Branchner, Mr. John Buchan, Lord Robert Cecil, General J. C. Smuts, Admiral Lord Seymour, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Sir John Cowans, the Marquess of Crewe, Lord D'Abernon, Mr. Justice Darling, Sir Trevor Dawson, Sir Edwin Cornwall, M.P., Sir A. Conan Doyle, Lord Dunraven, Lord Emmott, Mr. Andrew Fisher, Mr. Hayes Fisher, Sir Hamar Greenwood, Field-Marshal Lord Grenfell, Sir A. G. Boscawen, Sir Robert Hadfield, Sir H. Rider Haggard, Lord Harcourt, Lord Hardinge, Sir David Henderson, the Belgian Minister, Sir Gordon Hewart, Mr. John Hodge, Mr. A. H. Illingworth, Lord Kintore, Surgeon-General Sir Alfred Keogh, Colonel William Lassiter (Military Attaché American Embassy), the Marquess of Lincolnshire, Sir Thomas Lipton, Mr. Walter Long, Mr. Thomas Mackenzie, Captain Dugald MacDougall (Naval Attaché, American Embassy), Mr. C. F. G. Masterman, Mr. W. T. F. Massey, the Lord Mayor of London, Admiral Sir Hedworth Meux, Sir Newton Moore, Sir Edward Morris, Sir George Perley, Mr. Neil Primrose, M.P., Sir George Reid, Lord Revelstoke, Lord Rhondda, Sir George Riddell, Mr. W. P. Schreiner, Mr. R. P. Skinner (American Consul-General), the Duke of Somerset, Lord Somerleyton, Lord Southwark, Colonel H. W. Thornton, Sir Charles Waldstein, Captain de Teissier, Lord Weardale, Mr. H. G. Wells, Sir Joseph Ward, and Mr. H. Brittain.

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